



UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON
FACULTY OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT
BARTLETT SCHOOL OF PLANNING

**Is mixed tenure, high density housing the answer to estate renewal in London?
What are the barriers to effective implementation and do they undermine the goals
of this emerging policy discourse?**

THOMAS W B BRIDGMAN BA (Hons)

Being a Report submitted to the faculty of The Built Environment as part of the requirements for the award of the MSc Spatial Planning at University College London:

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LIST OF CONTENTS

LIST OF DIAGRAMS	5
LIST OF TABLES.....	5
ABSTRACT	6
1 INTRODUCTION	7
2 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY.....	9
2.1 The Emerging Policy Discourse - A Literature Review.....	9
2.2 Estate Renewal in London – An Introduction to Woodberry Down	9
2.3 Effective Implementation of Policy - An Analysis of the Six Case Studies	9
2.4 Achieving Policy Goals in London – An Analysis of Woodberry Down	10
2.5 Conclusions and Recommendations	10
3 THE EMERGING POLICY DISCOURSE - A LITERATURE REVIEW.....	11
3.1 Introduction.....	11
3.2 High Density	11
3.2.1 What is it?	11
3.2.2 Why do we want it?	13
3.2.3 Where should we have it?	14
3.2.4 How can we achieve it successfully?	16
3.3 Mixed tenure	16
3.3.1 What is it?	16
3.3.2 Why do we want it?	17
3.3.3 Where should it take place?	18
3.3.4 How can we achieve it successfully?	19
3.4 Putting it all together	19
4 ESTATE RENEWAL IN LONDON – AN INTRODUCTION TO WOODBERRY DOWN	21
4.1 The Woodberry Down Proposals.....	21
4.2 Woodberry Down in Context.....	22

5	EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICY - AN ANALYSIS OF THE SIX CASE STUDIES.....	24
5.1	Identification of Appropriate Case Studies	24
5.2	Key Themes in Planning Mixed Tenure and High Density Living.....	25
5.2.1	Key Process Themes	26
5.2.2	Key Policy Themes	28
6	ACHIEVING POLICY GOALS IN LONDON – AN ANALYSIS OF WOODBERRY DOWN	31
6.1	Understanding the Development Process on Woodberry Down.....	31
6.2	Key Themes in Planning Mixed Tenure and High Density Living.....	32
6.2.1	Key Process Themes	32
6.2.2	Key Policy Themes	37
7	CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	42
7.1	Conclusions.....	42
7.2	Recommendations	45
	APPENDIX 1 – WOODBERRY DOWN DEVELOPMENT HISTORY.....	48
	APPENDIX 2 – LIST OF THE CASE STUDIES AND RESEARCH LITERATURE	50
	APPENDIX 3 – DETAILS OF ANALYSED CASE STUDIES.....	55
	APPENDIX 4 – DETAILS OF INSTITUTIONAL STAKEHOLDERS RELATIONSHIPS	58
	APPENDIX 5 - SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE	59
	BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	61

LIST OF DIAGRAMS

Diagram 1 Process leads to Policy on Woodberry Down	26
Diagram 2 Institutional Analysis of Development Process at Woodberry Down.....	31

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 Prominent Density Calculation Types.....	12
Table 2 Selected Case Studies against Eligibility Criteria	25
Table 3 Stakeholder Interview Responses.....	32

ABSTRACT

High density, mixed tenure policy is influencing development throughout the country. In London, it is beginning to shape estate renewal delivery practices, with the buoyant housing market utilised to deliver the cross subsidy needed to rebuild ailing social housing provision. The Mayor's London Plan is pushing for a more compact city, which along with the 50% target for all housing development to be 'affordable' is also serving to push proposed densities on estate renewal schemes higher. Related to this is the concept of mixing communities to achieve a critical mass of social change and alleviate so called negative 'area effects'. While a range of policy goals are suggested in the pursuit of such policies, the government has not been explicit in setting clear objectives against which policy delivery can be tested. This dissertation analyses current research into high density and mixed tenure development. It seeks to better understand the impacts when the two outcomes are combined in the London context. Six case studies taken from current research are analysed against the proposed Woodberry Down estate renewal scheme, one of a number of emerging redevelopment projects based on emerging delivery practices towards high density, mixed tenure communities. A range of barriers to effective implementation are identified, which could impact upon identified goals. The reality is that as pressure grows to deliver more housing and facilities, with less land and government subsidy, these barriers will be traded off each other by local politicians in the hope of achieving the best possible outcome under increasingly difficult circumstances. Key to this is the need to engender strong local leadership, public sector control, a proactive planning system and economic viability, both in terms of initial scheme costs and longer term management.

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1 Introduction

The purpose of this research is to better understand how government housing and planning policies towards higher densities and mixed tenure development are being taken forward in delivering estate renewal programmes in London. It aims to supplement available research to assess the impact of such policies and identify barriers in achieving their goals. Finally, it seeks to make a series of recommendations concerning how government might seek to influence delivery.

Different areas of the UK face alternative housing market realities. Much has been made of Housing Pathfinders in the North of England and the difficulties of stimulating demand (Cameron 2003) but there is less literature on the impacts of mixed tenure development in the South of England and in particular London. Here the Mayor's London Plan (GLA 2004:64) ensures that all boroughs should look to achieve a level of 50% affordable housing within their new provision. This is set in the wider context of the government's Sustainable Communities Building for the Future Plan (2003).

The Woodberry Down Estate, located in North Hackney, has been chosen as the subject for this study as it one of the major estate renewal challenges facing London. It is part of a growing trend of public private partnerships occurring across the city, including the Ferrier Estate in Greenwich and the Aylesbury Estate in Southwark. All these examples are seeking to regenerate existing estates, through the introduction of properties for outright sale.

In contrast to the Pathfinder schemes in the North, where displacement of some existing social renting residents to make way for private sale homes is planned, the emerging London schemes seek to broadly retain the number of social rented dwellings and, in line with expectations for higher densities, introduce additional (private) housing to the area. The logical conclusion of this are mixed tenure communities, but at much higher densities than before. There is a broad range of literature supporting these moves. Case studies will be taken from these and analysed against findings from qualitative research into the Woodberry Down development process to identify how policy might be shaped to better inform future delivery in this area.

This report suggests that this policy direction is taking those responsible for implementation and future management further towards the unknown. As estate renewal schemes get more socially mixed and more compact, the complexities involved in planning and delivering redevelopment appear to multiply. Moreover, such are the individual characteristics and requirements of each estate, that quantitative measurements, such as density, lose much of their value. The methods of quality control towards the delivery of successful schemes require more qualitative approaches to management, allocations, housing mix and design. Critically, it is the planning process that is important in this context. Strong public sector leadership, visionary design documents and innovative financial mechanisms are all necessary for a process of achieving policy goals.

2 Research Design and Methodology

2.1 The Emerging Policy Discourse - A Literature Review

This section sets out what is meant by the terms high density and mixed tenure development. Furthermore, it considers why both terms are being promoted and where they are being suggested as policy interventions. This provides an understanding of the rationale and goals in this emerging policy area. ✓

2.2 Estate Renewal in London – An Introduction to Woodberry Down

A review of the Woodberry Down programme has been undertaken, in order for appropriate case studies from the research literature to be identified and effective information gathering to take place. Furthermore, it sets the Woodberry Down Estate within the context of estate renewal in London and illustrates the relevance the proposed development has to others in the region. ✓

2.3 Effective Implementation of Policy - An Analysis of the Six Case Studies

This section identifies six case studies from the research literature in order to assess the effects of mixed tenure, high density policy on areas that have at least some similarity with the Woodberry Down Estate. It should be noted that due to literature limitations with the available case studies, from the literature there is only one development that covers all the areas identified in relation to Woodberry Down. Therefore, careful assumptions will need to be made in relation to the findings and their implications for the main case study. The main issues identified through this process have been critically appraised and conceptualised. Seven themes have been identified from this, against which, the Woodberry Down planning process will be assessed. ✓

2.4 Achieving Policy Goals in London – An Analysis of Woodberry Down

It was anticipated that in order to best understand the tensions, to unpick the planning process and to explore the thinking behind policy formation, face-to-face, semi structured interviews would be most successful. An institutional analysis was undertaken to identify appropriate stakeholders, with the intention to interview one individual from each stakeholder body. The semi-structured approach was adopted to ensure the information gathered could be systematised for comparison across stakeholders, without discounting unpredicted topics for discussion that may arise. It is acknowledged that this approach may lead to some bias from the interviewer. To this end, care has been taken to ensure the questions were not leading. Furthermore, interviews were recorded so that analysis could be undertaken once the interview had taken place.

2.5 Conclusions and Recommendations

This section pulls together the findings from the six case studies and the Woodberry Down stakeholder interviews. It assesses how current government policy is shaping development in London and seeks to identify barriers to effective delivery. Finally, it considers the extent to which these might impact upon policy goals discussed in the literature review.

3 The Emerging Policy Discourse - A Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

The mixed tenure, high density discourse is set within the national sustainable communities agenda. Key to this is two elements within the government's own definition of the term (ODPM 2003:7). They suggest that communities should consist of:

- 1) Sufficient size, scale and density, and the right layout to support basic amenities in the neighbourhood and minimise use of resources (including land);
- 2) A well-integrated mix of decent homes of different types and tenures to support a range of household sizes, ages and incomes.

3.2 High Density

3.2.1 What is it?

Density is a key mechanism through which the planning system seeks to police and control development. However, it should be viewed as a means to an end, not an end in itself. As such, policy makers are keen to add nuance to the concept and provide a quantifiable way to increase understanding of a proposed development. However, this can lead to a rather confusing combination of numbers, often making it harder to understand a proposed development. While there are over ten different density calculations referred to in the literature reviewed (PRP 2002:14, GLA:2003:14, Burdett et al 2004:18), common ground can be found in five measurements. These are set out in the table below.

Table 1 Prominent Density Calculation Types

Measurement Calculation	Rationale
Dwellings per hectare	Original density measurement intended to illustrate scale of development planned. Is problematic in identifying occupancy levels
Habitable rooms per hectare	Helps prevent too many small units being used to artificially raise density levels. Also problematic for occupancy levels.
Plot Ratios	Measures the footprint of a development multiplied by the number of floors. Useful for mixed use development
Persons per hectare	To try to understand the occupancy levels and therefore the dynamism of a place. Better able to assess required service and infrastructure provision
Beds per hectare	A proxy for persons per hectare as it is more tangible in terms of prospective development.

As can be seen in the rationale column there is no single measurement to provide the complete picture of a development. However, while each calculation might add more layers for interpretation, there is also a concern that dogmatic reliance on the quantifiable over more qualitative approaches has many negative effects. The Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment's (CABE) consultation response to Planning Policy Statement 3 (PPS3) warns of this, stating that:

“the starting point for any residential development should be the form of development that is best suited to the constraints of the site – in terms of the layout, massing and type of housing and public realm - not a numerical target.”
(CABE 2006a:3)

The draft Planning Policy Statement 3 (PPS3) sets in place an imperative for higher density development with an assumption that nationwide levels will be set at no less than 30 dwellings per hectare (dph) (ODPM:2005:27). This does not provide an adequate definition for high density. Rather it illustrates that it is not possible to define the term in isolation. There appears not to be a quantifiable definition of what is high, as opposed to medium or low density. Density appears instead to be more identifiably relative to location, with PPS3 suggesting indicative density ranges and proposing that a density matrix¹ should be established in each region (ibid:26). Although, density levels for new developments in London are much higher than this, with the mean density of approved planning applications 125 dph in 2004/5 (URS 2006:10) and a London density matrix encouraging densities of up to 275dph in urban and 435 in central settings (GLA 2004:177). Interestingly, density levels in London are low in comparison to Paris or Manhattan (Burdett et al 2004:3), illustrating a cultural as well as spatial layer to the concept.

The East Thames Housing Group commissioned comparative study of density across Europe develops a number of models (PRP 2002:13) to help conceptualise the issues. They found that inhabitants of social housing use their homes more intensively and that other factors, such as employment and age, impact on how much space is utilised by an individual and, therefore, how density levels might affect them. Density then is not a simple answer to controlling and monitoring development to achieve a set of desired outcomes. It is highly complex, dynamic and difficult to define.

3.2.2 Why do we want it?

There are a number of rationales for encouraging denser development. However, identifying which is the overriding concern of policy makers is more difficult. The driving force behind the push towards more 'compact cities' can be seen as the Urban Task Force (1999). The basis of this perspective is threefold. Firstly, settlements at high densities with a mixture of uses and an intensity of traffic have a positive correlation with

¹ PPS3 suggests a matrix should distinguish between city centre (70+ indicative dph range), urban (40-75), suburban (30-55) and rural (30-40)

sustainability, principally by reducing transport emissions (de Roo and Miller 2000:1). Linked to this, is the desire to address concerns about the impact that urban sprawl can have on greenbelt land (CPRA 2005). Finally, with a critical mass of people, high densities will support improved and sustainable services and infrastructure and crucially lead to positive effects found in agglomeration economies (Porter 1990). However, for Brehney (1995) there are two fundamental concerns. The first is that the decentralising shift is powerful and perhaps untameable. The second is that the relative benefits of building at greater densities, within urban areas, may well not be worth the social, political and financial costs. It is this last point that begins to open up debates about current directions in estate renewal.

In London, the Mayor's Spatial Plan identifies a clear demographic shift towards a younger and much larger population, suggesting the city will increase its population by the size of Leeds between 2002 and 2016 (GLA 2004:24-5). Furthermore, with smaller households, and many single occupancy, the net result is that 23,000 homes will need to be built each year in the capital to keep up with demand, and this excludes the 112,000 currently living in temporary or unsatisfactory accommodation (GLA 2005:17). The GLA's capacity study of London's housing land supply suggests this is achievable with an existing potential for 458,000 new homes within the city limits (ibid). For the Mayor then, on the grounds of social-economic and ecological sustainability "well designed high density housing is crucial to my vision of London" (ibid:1).

3.2.3 Where should we have it?

Sir Peter Hall has suggested that the UK has been too successful in moving forwards towards its brownfield regeneration targets, blaming what he sees as an 'unholy alliance' between the shires and the city to protect rural England and advance high density development in towns and suburbs (LSE Density Debate 2006). His premise is that people need choice and some, especially families, simply do not want to live at high density, which often means apartment style living and lack of private gardens. This is borne out in CABI's What Home Buyers Want survey (2005b), which emphasised many people's desire to be near or in the countryside and live in a detached house.

This is in contrast to trends in the house building sector, with the percentage of construction 'starts' in the South East for detached houses falling from 44% in 1998 to 19% in 2003 and flats and maisonettes rising from 17% to 46% in the same time period (CABE:2005a:9), with similar figures UK wide (Blackman 2006). Some argue that developers are now embracing the hitherto uncertain world of apartment building on the back of buy-to-let investors buying off plan. This further fuels the market for one and two bedroom flats, which are perceived to be inappropriate for family living (ibid 2006). The concern for Hall and others is that families will leave the cities and moreover, too much emphasis on brownfield regeneration will make development less viable than on green field land, exacerbating the housing crisis (Hall in UTF 2005:19). Moreover, developers appear to lack market confidence to build family size flats for private sale. This is further compounded by high land prices, density targets and alternative priorities for planning gain, which limit numbers of suitable family dwellings coming through at high density (Silverman et al 2005:3). Hall's argument is for a cautious but purposeful expansion of cities into the greenbelt, pushing for relatively lower densities in the suburbs, although higher along transport networks, and thus encouraging house as well as apartment building.

Others argue that developer confidence might be a self fulfilling prophecy and that once good quality family size flats are introduced to the market, the UK will adapt to a more continental style of apartment living (ibid:63). For CABE (2005b:24) what is needed is to better explore trade offs to address people's desires. Flats and terraced housing can be more secure, well maintained lifts can increase accessibility for older people and shared outdoor space can represent an affordable alternative to a private garden. What the home buyer's survey does not provide is a review of respondents understanding of the real costs. The reality is that many cannot afford the lifestyles they desire. Moreover, many further argue that the planet cannot accommodate the settlement patterns such desires would require. ✓

3.2.4 How can we achieve it successfully?

The literature is full of research and guidance on how best to achieve successful high density. Much is based on learning lessons from the past and on separating perceptions of high density from both high rise and the crowded mono-tenured social housing schemes of the post-war years (PRP 2002:5, GLA 2003:13, Burdett et al 2004:16). There is a clear consensus that “spatial masterplanning cannot be divorced from thinking about how the new homes will be occupied and managed” and thus, how they work in the long term (Barnes forward to PRP: 2002:5). Critically, density is not seen in isolation from other physical and social issues. In terms of physical attributes, housing type, mix, layout, location and size are all fundamental to making high densities work (Burdett et al 2004:16). To accommodate a diversity of urban lifestyles, there is general consensus that successful higher density areas require different levels of density and building types within them (GLA 2003:25). Burdett et al (2004:61) found that people who live at London’s higher densities could look beyond such negative perceptions and found that local facilities (shops and schools) and transport services were essential in accommodating higher density developments. The importance of landscaping, open space provision and parking are also underlined.

3.3 *Mixed tenure*

3.3.1 What is it?

The term, according to Tunstall (2003:155), is part of an increasing “professional orthodoxy” within the built environment, along with ‘mixed use’, ‘brownfield development’ and of course, ‘high density’. However, for many it is poorly defined (ibid, Atkinson 2005:4). The debate concerns whether the government is seeking to use the policy as a means to help more people into home ownership, via shared ownership and key worker schemes, or is looking to genuinely promote all tenures, including social renting, as a more balanced and socially equitable housing policy. The discourse can be seen to stem from an apparent lack of explicit goals. However, for Atkinson, who has

undertaken a review of research in the area, the issue of target or goal setting is problematic due to the complexity and variation of social relationships in and between different areas (2005:18). Indeed, whilst a report commissioned by Sovereign Housing suggests a limit of no more than 30% 'affordable' within any given new development (Andrews and Reardon-Smith 2005:5), this too is dependent on a range of localised physical and social interventions.

For Tunstall (2003:158) it is difficult to get a firm grasp on what mixed tenure policy actually stands for in the UK and whether it is a 'genuine' policy. While, elements of it move towards privatising housing and in doing so, further residualising social rented accommodation, it is also clear that improvements for those in the worst areas, through diversification, is a driving force. However, she also notes that there is no focus on mixing tenures in areas of relative affluence, citing France as an example where 20% of housing in each commune is social (ibid:155). It is clear then, that mixed tenure is not the absolute goal of UK housing policy, but rather an approach to the perceived problem of area based deprivation.

3.3.2 Why do we want it?

Much of the literature focuses, either explicitly or implicitly, on so called 'area effects'. This is the concept that concentrations of deprived individuals have their deprivation compounded by other concentrations of poverty in the neighbourhood within which they live. For Atkinson and Kintrea (2002:147) this is based on a perception that "the social dynamics of deprived areas can promote inward-looking attitudes, stigmatisation and weak social capital". It is suggested that this can have an adverse effect on employment; anti-social behaviour and service provision (Atkinson 2005:2). Critically, mixed tenure policy in the UK can be seen as introducing people with choice into an area to demand and improve both public and private services (Atkinson and Kintrea 2002:150). There is also evidence that significant cost efficiencies and service benefits can arise in terms of housing management (Atkinson 2005:8).

However, there is an overriding concern that such a policy is based on conviction, rather than hard evidence (ibid), as well as the middle class "recasting the city in their

own mould” (Atkinson 2003:2347). The pursuit of mixed tenure can be viewed as a less controversial proxy for social mix, or even social engineering. However, some question if the mixed tenure approach is the best way to achieve this ultimate aim and that there is a great deal of evidence to “promote a wider and more flexible set of policy tools than building, demolishing and selling homes” (Tunstall 2003:157). There is also major debate about the extent to which area effects are significant when compared to wider societal socio-economic trends.

3.3.3 Where should it take place?

It is clear that a dual system of housing provision, involving the consistent promotion of owner-occupation over renting, has served to create concentrations of poverty within inner cities based on tenure. For Cameron and Doling (1994:1212) “urban deprivation is not now linked to a place – the inner city – but to a housing tenure – council housing”. Atkinson (2005:9) notes that while government policy is to encourage social mix to address these problems, many trends actually point to out-migration and gated communities. As Andrews and Reardon-Smith (2005:4) interviews with estate agents indicated, for many with choice, social mix via tenure mix, is not an attractive option.

As set out above, there is no push for mixing tenure within existing affluent communities. Government policy appears to be a combination of gentrification by encouraging home ownership where possible with an attempt to break up concentrations of poverty in order to remove the area effects of deprivation (ibid). As such, pressure for mixed tenure development is only occurring on brownfield sites or in existing deprived communities. In the latter situation, of critical concern is the degree to which residualisation of existing residents takes place (Atkinson 2005:6). This can be seen in very obvious ways, but also through more subtle trends. As existing deprived communities are developed and space for alternative tenures made available there will often be a shrinking in the levels of social housing stock. Another option involves retaining existing social renting residents, but ensure a critical mass of social change by increasing the number of private and intermediate homes (Atkinson and Kintrea

2002:155). Such an option is now being utilised by a number of local authorities, but there is concern that rises in density to ensure financial viability will be at the expense of consideration of long-term consequences for residents (Blackman 2006). There are two main imperatives. Firstly, to ensure the positive benefits outlined above are realised for those with little choice about where they live and secondly, to foster an environment in which those with choice will want to live. Both issues are critical to the sustainability of a scheme. It is this that will be considered further in the subsequent chapters.

3.3.4 How can we achieve it successfully?

For Jupp (1999), who studied ten mixed tenure estates, it is likely that the social lives of owners and renters will be generally separate. He concludes that typically social inclusivity between tenures does not occur. Indeed, this may go back to how groups use space differently. Such findings are similar to studies of gentrification (Butler 2003), which address similar social trends. However, Jupp's study did find that most inter-tenure relationships took place where proximity between tenure was closest. Here then is a call for dispersal of tenures within developments, or 'pepper-potting'. For Andrews and Reardon-Smith (2005:4-7), who studied a range of developments where this had taken place, such a concept can work. Judged against the ability of private sector housing to sell and keep market price, their conclusions are broadly positive. However, well designed management arrangements are essential. Design and construction need to be 'tenure blind' and properties need to be marketed to all prospective residents (across tenure) honestly, as a socially mixed development. A key concern with pepper-potting is management costs, through service charges, which would need to be subsidised if equal service provision across tenures is to be achieved (ibid:6, PRP 2002:10)).

3.4 Putting it all together

Burdett et al's 2004 study of density in London finds a strong correlation between higher density and deprivation within outer London, but both deprivation and affluence at

high density in inner London. They also identify a clear link between high density and a younger, more ethnically diverse population, the demographic direction London is heading towards. The inference of this is that high density socially mixed communities, with high levels of satisfaction, are possible. The researchers' message is that different groups have different requirements and as such, there is no one-size-fits-all approach to high density mixed communities.

As this literature review has demonstrated, there is a great deal of research into successful mixed tenure communities, while work identifying what is needed to accommodate higher densities is also well established. Moreover, consideration of how to improve areas of social integration within mixed communities is available, with major longitudinal studies necessary to take this further, when considering higher densities. This dissertation looks to build upon this work by examining how achievable such 'good practice' is when delivering estate renewal redevelopment in London, where demand for housing is pushing densities higher, due to a limited supply of land.

4 Estate Renewal in London – An Introduction to Woodberry Down

4.1 The Woodberry Down Proposals

In order to consider wider trends within London an illustrative case study will be used. The Woodberry Down Estate, in Hackney, is an area of inner London targeted for fundamental change. Over the next 15-20 years it is proposed that 5,051 new homes will be built on a site, which currently accommodates 1,980 existing or former council owned homes built in the post war years (LBH 2006a:1). Such plans would see density levels sharply rise, from the current 82.5 dph to 210 dph. The demographics will also change dramatically, moving from nearly all social housing to a proposed tenure mix of 53% private sale, 32% social rented and 15% intermediate units. A more detailed history of the development process is attached as Appendix 1.

In addition to the housing element of the scheme, Hackney Housing, in partnership with a broad range of stakeholders is seeking to bring forward a range of socio-economic interventions including a new health centre, a refurbished and enlarged primary school, a new city academy, a business and adult education centre, a new day centre for elderly people, a gym and function room to be owned by a community led Development Trust and commercial and retail space for existing and new businesses (LBH 2006a:22). This will be matched with improvements to the transport infrastructure, public realm and ground infrastructure (ibid).

There are five key elements to the development. These are as follows:

- a) An estate renewal programme
- b) A mixed tenure development
- c) A high density development
- d) Re-housing an existing community
- e) Reliance on a buoyant London housing market

Along with a prerequisite that all developments should be within an urban location, the criteria above will be used to identify and compare the Woodberry Down plans against existing relevant case studies as set out in the literature.

4.2 Woodberry Down in Context

The plans for Woodberry Down described above are extremely relevant to London. As noted above, the capital is faced with a housing shortage and pressure for new homes of all tenures which has contributed to the Mayor's London Plan target for 50% affordable units within proposed housing growth. However, Woodberry Down is also relevant from a pragmatic viewpoint, as local authorities in London are faced with significant amounts of post-war social housing stock falling into disrepair. The development can be viewed as part of a changing direction in the delivery of estate renewal and, as such, the process of planning and the formulation of local policies to progress the scheme have significant relevance to other schemes emerging in the capital. As David Blackman has noted

“Council bosses are increasingly looking to cross-subsidy from private development to fund the redevelopment of their clapped-out municipal estates. By allowing developers to build flats for sale, they can replace council homes that have been demolished at no cost to the taxpayer” (Axis 25/1/06).

At the Ferrier Estate in Kidbrooke, Greenwich Council plan to create a mixed tenure community with the existing 1,900 homes reduced in number to 1,310 through natural relocation, along with 600 affordable homes and 2,490 (57%) homes for private sale (LBG 2004:2). Furthermore, at the Aylesbury Estate in Southwark, plans are being developed to demolish the existing 2,759 dwellings to build 2,200 homes for rent, and a further 2,700 homes for sale or shared ownership (LBS 2006). Other schemes, such as Clapham Park in Lambeth and South Kilburn in Brent, have also been developed to rely heavily on cross subsidy from the sale of private housing. With little or no additional land

available and with pressure not to reduce the supply of social housing in the capital the logical conclusion is a rise in density to accommodate mixed tenure development.

5 Effective Implementation of Policy - An Analysis of the Six Case Studies

5.1 Identification of Appropriate Case Studies

Perhaps the most telling finding from the review of case studies is the lack of research into the type and scale of high density, mixed tenure development proposed on Woodberry Down and elsewhere in the capital. Case studies either focus on high density, typically mono tenure or with only small numbers of mix, or mixed tenure at lower densities. While it can not be determined how much influence such research has had on policy formulation, it can be assumed that such documents are an important part of the policy discourse, one that can be seen as increasingly bringing these two concepts together. A list of the reviewed research literature, along with a review of all the case studies available within them, is attached as Appendix 2.

The rationale for the case study selections, using criteria from the Woodberry Down redevelopment, is set out in Table 2. A full breakdown of their details is attached as Appendix 3. Only one case study matches exactly with the Woodberry Down profile, however the development has not taken place and the study merely looks at the development process to date. However, within the remaining studies, each has interesting and important parallels with Woodberry Down.

Table 2 Selected Case Studies against Eligibility Criteria

	Atwood, Birmingham	Hulme, Manchester	New Gorbals, Glasgow	Greenwich Millennium Village, London	Ocean Estate, London	Imperial Wharf, London
Estate renewal programme	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	
Mixed tenure ² development	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
High density development ³	Yes			Yes	Yes	Yes
Re-housing all existing community		Yes	Yes		Yes	
New build set within strong housing market				Yes	Yes	Yes
Urban Setting	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

5.2 Key Themes in Planning Mixed Tenure and High Density Living

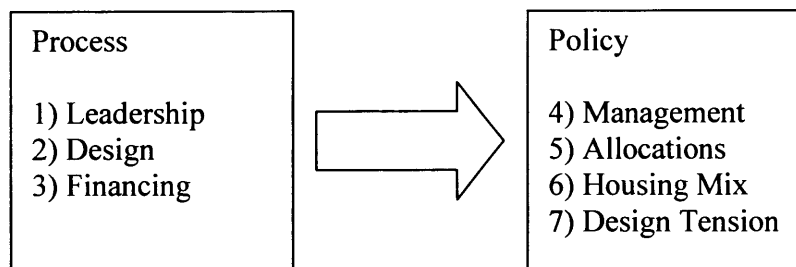
In order to take lessons from these case studies and apply them to the emerging redevelopment plan for Woodberry Down, seven emerging themes have been identified through critical analysis of the selected case studies. These areas can be split into process

² Mixed tenure has been defined as developments where over 20% of housing is of a different tenure. This is an arbitrary level. It represents less than the target set in the London Plan. As this is a relatively new target, there are few developments in the available case studies that demonstrate this level of mixing, thus halving this target allows a number to be considered and assumption made about the possible lessons that can be learned in relation to Woodberry Down

³ As stated earlier high density is relative and while case studies are all in urban setting, additional complexities such as proximity to public transport and car parking spaces make it difficult to profile one development against another. Therefore, high density is considered as that above the current mean density level for approved planning applications in London. This currently stands at 125dph (URS 2006:10).

and policy, the contention being that if the process is sound, then the policy that it stems from may provide a better starting point for development

Diagram 1 Process leads to Policy on Woodberry Down



5.2.1 Key Process Themes

5.2.1.1 Design Documents

The importance of design documents is an increasingly utilised tool in estate renewal development. All of the case studies were subject to at least one stage of masterplanning. At Atwood Green in Birmingham, a two stage process took place, allowing an initial vision for the whole area to be built upon through a design led competition for the second stage for each phase. This approach led to outline planning for the first phase at Park Central to be received in a very efficient seven weeks (CABE 2006b). At the redevelopment of Hulme in Manchester, both a masterplan and urban design codes were developed. This has been controversial, with concerns that it would hinder innovation, but has actually worked to ensure building heights and layout as set out on the masterplan have been adhered to, while successfully encouraging architectural difference across the site (Bailey et al 2006:47). New Gorbals also demonstrates how successful schemes can fit into wider regeneration strategies, by accommodating family units and allowing more apartments to be built in adjacent areas (ibid). All case studies in which existing communities were involved emphasised the importance of community engagement in the process. Design documents appear as an important conduit through which to involve residents.

5.2.1.2 Leadership

Within the literature case studies it is Hulme and New Gorbals that best illustrate the importance of leadership in pushing forward complex development. At New Gorbals, key to this was effective partnership building and a powerful champion (Bailey et al 2006:32). This case study demonstrates the importance of corporate buy in within the local authority in order to provide strong commitment. In Hulme, the local authority were in a position to lobby central government and to demonstrate commitment by processing lands sales and the necessary planning permissions very efficiently (ibid:33). In this instance, effective local leadership provided demonstrative evidence to central government that the scheme would succeed.

5.2.1.3 Financing

The literature cases studies demonstrate a range of funding mechanisms in delivering mixed tenure communities. Those that do this in tandem with high densities allow for interesting comparisons to be drawn with Woodberry Down. Imperial Wharf, developed on brownfield land, was able to draw down Social Housing Grant. This is not possible when simply renewing existing homes. Furthermore, section 106 contributions were maximised by allowing the developer to seek maximum value from the most desirable locations on the site (Cope 2002:120). At Atwood Green, Birmingham City Council granted the developer the land under licence, without a land value attached, dramatically reducing the need for a quick return and thus, the risk the developer was exposing itself to. This enabled increased amounts to be contributed to public amenity up front and allows for a profit sharing agreement for continued reinvestment into the scheme (CABE 2006b). At the Ocean Estate, problems emerged from a desire to maximise the number of social housing on the estate, leading to a masterplan that was not financially viable. Gap funding was sought, but was not successful. Additional private homes were added to the plan at the expense of social housing. This had led to a delay in the stock transfer vote to an RSL (Bailey 2006:100) and credibility issues.

5.2.2 Key Policy Themes

5.2.2.1 Future Management Arrangements

At Imperial Wharf the developer, St George, has taken what appears to be a long term view, installing a single estate based manager for all the tenures and imposing the same lease conditions on all residents. For Cope (2002:120) this neighbourhood management system is the developer being “mindful of the impact integration can have upon house sales”. St George’s also set the service charges across tenures. At Atwood Green an estate services company has been set up. Owned by the Housing Association, it is responsible for overall quality, with maintenance of different blocks carried out by a range of companies (Bailey et al 2006:68). Crucially, this company ensures that the public realm between blocks is maintained and enforces covenants across tenures to make sure residents are not contributing to the degradation of the shared space.

5.2.2.2 Allocations

Allocation policy is a concept that appears in much of the literature as an option in managing mixed tenure spaces, but in all but one of the UK based research, has not been adopted as a management tool. While European examples do point the way towards a choice based lettings model for social housing, this does not appear when looking at the UK literature (PRP 2002). Imperial Wharf, significantly a developer led scheme, has sought to influence nominations to the social rented element of the scheme. From a developer perspective this is to “ensure that mixed tenure schemes are rendered more sustainable [and] enable a balanced community to develop” (Cope 2002:122). The author, who compares a range of high density schemes (typically mono-tenure) notes that across all case studies, schemes deemed successful have low child densities, noting it is a critical mass of older children that present most difficulties (ibid:116). It might be viewed that higher densities are being forced upon those with children who rely on social housing and that this is limiting their choice. Indeed, the demographic profile at Greenwich Millennium Village (GMV), a London based scheme, indicates a sharp divide between the social and private tenures, with the former accommodating more and older children (Silverman et al 2006:43).

5.2.2.3 Housing Mix

As noted in the literature review there is notion that to retain families in the inner city supply needs to increase. The key issue is the ability to accommodate this at higher density. In terms of housing mix there are very few private family size houses at GMV, especially at high density. Although, interestingly it is noted that more are planned after consultation with local residents. In contrast, the much lower density, but much more mixed schemes at New Gorbals and especially Hulme were designed specifically to encourage private sale families to move into the area (Silverman et al 2006:23). At Hulme, all family homes are houses, while at New Gorbals, many are maisonettes. An important part of housing mix is mobility within a community. Whether this is within tenure, or between tenures there is concerns from the case studies that when small families seek additional space, the dynamics of mixed tenure and high density developments make this process problematic. At Hulme and New Gorbals, relatively low densities in comparison to Woodberry Down, the issue is existing families moving across tenure due to sharp increases in house prices as the area has improved. The key concern here is with kinship networks and the perception that retaining them would contribute to a stable and more sustainable community (ibid). At GMV the major issue is retaining private sector families, who cite lack of suitable accommodation as one element in their decision to ultimately move on (ibid:43).

5.2.2.4 Design Tensions

All the case studies emphasise the importance of design in achieving sustainable communities. Each development is unique in terms of the issues it has had to work through. At Atwood Green and Greenwich Millennium Village accommodating a variety of housing types, including family dwellings, is addressed through varying the density and scale across the development. In the former this is undertaken alongside a true mixing of tenures, albeit at lower densities (CABE 2006b). While at GMV these are all social rented dwellings (Silverman et al 2006:23). Pepper-potting is a major tension within developments. Developments range from 'total' pepper-potting, where different

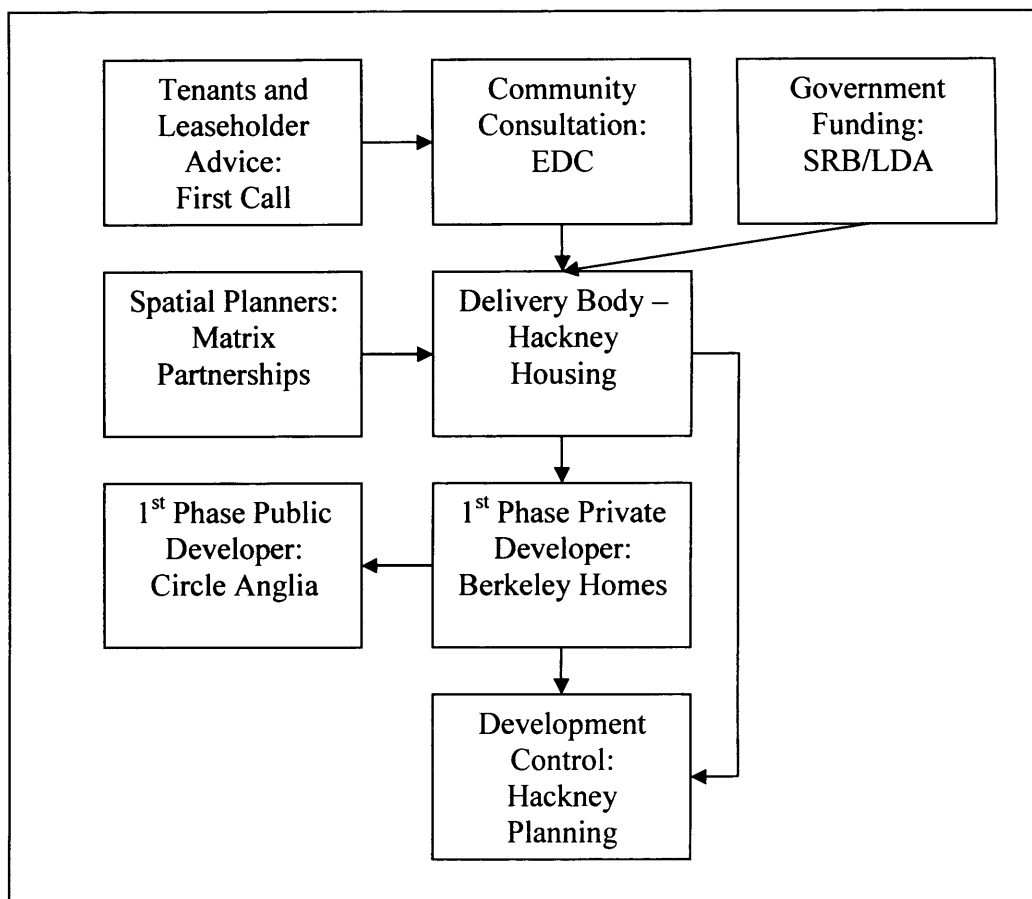
tenures exist literally next door to each other (Atwood, New Gorbals), 'strategic' pepper-potting, where tenures are dispersed across the site (Hulme and Ocean), but do not share entrances, to 'minimal' pepper-potting, where tenures are separate from each other (GMV and Imperial Wharf) (adapted from Bailey 2006: 49).

6 Achieving Policy Goals in London – An Analysis of Woodberry Down

6.1 Understanding the Development Process on Woodberry Down

In order to identify the relevant stakeholders at Woodberry Down, a process map, based on the information set out in the design documents, has been developed. This is set out below in Diagram 2. A detailed description of these relationships is set out in Appendix 4.

Diagram 2 Institutional Analysis of Development Process at Woodberry Down⁴



⁴ While other stakeholder groups have been involved, not least in the masterplan exercise, the diagram attempts to represent the key players who have exerted the most influence over the scheme.

All of these stakeholders were contacted and a request made for interview. There was a 75% success rate.

6.2 Key Themes in Planning Mixed Tenure and High Density Living

6.2.1 Key Process Themes

Six semi-structured interviews were undertaken based on the seven emerging themes outlined in Section 5. The questionnaire has been attached as Appendix 5.

Table 3 Stakeholder Interview Responses

Names	Stakeholder Role	Position	Response
Robin Smith (RS)	Woodberry Down Regeneration Team, Project Director	Assistant Director, Hackney Homes ⁵	Interviewed
Sue Foster	Lead Planning Officer for Local Authority	Head of Planning	No response ⁶
Matt Lally (ML)	Masterplanner	Director, Matrix Partnership	Interviewed
Aaron Cahill (AC)	Regional Development Agency and part funder	Head of Housing, London Development Agency	Interviewed
Peter Naughton (PN)	Estate Development Committee, Chair	Woodberry Down Estate Resident	Interviewed
Neal Purvis (NP)	Independent Tenants and Leaseholders Advisor	Consultant, First Call	Interviewed
Gordon Hayes	Developer, Kick Start Sites (phase 1)	Project Manager, Berkeley Homes Ltd	Unable to meet ⁷
David Brewer (DB)	Housing Association, Kick Start Sites (phase 1)	Assistant Director, Circle Anglia	Interviewed

⁵ Hackney Homes is the recently created Arms Length Management Organisation for LB Hackney Housing

⁶ Both main officers involved in the development have recently left the Council, thus only Head of Planning was left with significant knowledge of the development.

⁷ Due to heavy workload of interviewee.

6.2.1.1 Design Documents

At Woodberry Down, the first design document, the Area Action Plan (AAP) was not seen by stakeholders as a positive contribution to this process. Comments such as “the AAP was weak and watery” (*NP, First Call*), or that it was “quite a bland document with no real spatial or design elements” (*AC, LDA*) were typical across all interviewees. For those closest to it, the critical issue was that it was not linked to any real viability study. Indeed, the masterplanning team, who came later to the process, emphasised that “planning policy must sit alongside economic viability” (*ML, Matrix Partnerships*). For the Hackney Housing, charged with delivering the scheme the concern was that the AAP was “creating a policy straight jacket that prevents a viable scheme coming forward” (*RS, Hackney Housing*). This clearly highlights a real issue in maintaining flexibility in the early stages of development.

The AAP was a Hackney Planning led document aimed at setting the regeneration principles for the area. It is clear from the above comments, that there were some issues involving a shared vision at this early stage. What becomes more evident is that such a vision was not developed through the subsequent design document, the Urban Design Framework (UDF), which sought to articulate the framework as set out the AAP. Matrix Partnership developed this document, which “did not get buy-in from the planners” (*ML*). Critically, from an originally proactive stance, Hackney Planning has taken a much more hands-off approach and appeared unwilling to engage in the development of such a complicated scheme, especially around thorny issues such as building heights and density. For DB of Circle Anglia “the weakness has been in the engagement of planning”. Indeed, all interviewees thought this was to do with lack of resources, something the Head of Planning at Hackney noted in a recent press article (ref). This is an important point in terms of developing a shared agenda. From an LDA perspective this is perhaps not unsurprising:

“It will become increasingly difficult for Local Authorities to take these developments forward as pressure increases to get more for less, alongside the sustainable communities agenda” (*AC*)

This has led to a near stalemate regarding the emerging masterplan, with the proposed scale and massing of the scheme to accommodate the necessary dwellings still being questioned by the planners. For PN, Chair of the Estate Development Committee (EDC) there is no shared vision in this regard. However, the masterplanning process has served to engage residents and “bang other stakeholder heads together“.

Finally, there was widespread concern about the flexibility of the final masterplan. Comments such as “in five years time it will be seen as the merest guide and in ten years as old hat” (NP) are symptomatic of the majority of interviews. Linked to this was a concern that if estate renewal is to rely on a strong housing market to cross subsidise social and affordable units then the masterplan cannot be taken forward dogmatically. Here the concern is that once the masterplan is approved, Hackney Planning might not allow deviations from any approved outline planning on grounds of changed circumstance and viability. It should be noted that it was not possible to get the planners viewpoint on this.

6.2.1.2 Leadership

Leadership was a concern in a number of the interviews, which could point to an issue regarding larger, more complex schemes, where decisions influence more people and inevitably become more political.

“For a development of this size and type that is going to significantly change the area, you are not going to get consensus”

(NP)

What becomes clear through the interview process is that Hackney Planning appears to be at odds with the rest of the stakeholders. For PN, putting the merits or demerits of their concerns to one side the key issue is “why did they not get round to this sooner”, echoing all the interviewees who believe to some extent that the development to date has been hampered by a reactive, rather than proactive planning department. For RS, “it is a matter of how planning is integrated into the leadership of the Local Authority” in terms of

front-loading strategies and policies for development and working across the Council to achieve corporate aims, rather than coming in at the end and taking a view on what is in front of them.

Those outside the local authority note that both the EDC and SRB grant were catalysts for the development, without which “it is difficult to see there being the political will to get the scheme started” (*PN*). Those privy to the internal workings of the Council note that while political and Chief Executive buy-in was achieved, “since then they have taken more of a back seat...which has probably not worked because there was not full corporate buy-in across the directorates” (*RS*). While the importance of Hackney Planning’s independence was espoused by many of the interviewees, a common trend seems to be concern that such is the contentious nature of public private development that decisions are increasingly political and need to be decided in that arena, not at officer level. Related to this was the proposition that an Urban Development Corporation style body might be better at dealing with the complicated issues involved in pushing through central government policy at local level (*RS*). For AC, the recent announcement of the transfer of more powers to the Mayor of London, which will enable the GLA to ‘call in’ developments, will see more centralised and strategic planning control. He notes “that this will increasingly happen as schemes get more complex, not least because of a shortage of land”.

6.2.1.3 Financing

At Woodberry Down, as in any other *estate* renewal scheme, the pressure to build social housing is not from planning obligations as at Imperial Wharf, but rather to accommodate all existing social rented tenants. This puts SHG out of reach because it can only be drawn down for net gains in social housing on a site. For RS “the reality is that Government does not have the money” for estate renewal. Linking back to the leadership analysis, it is the number of “false starts” estate renewal has had on Woodberry Down that has provided a clear rationale for pragmatism over more innovative funding mechanisms, such as at Atwood Green. From Hackney Housing’s perspective, there is an obvious drive to get something delivered. However, there is concern from other quarters

that it is overly reliant on a buoyant housing market. As NP points out, “it is not yet the norm because we still don’t know if it will work”. For ML there is a much wider imperative for success:

“Decent homes really ain’t decent. So in terms of the scale of the exercise that is needed over the next few years it is immense. Clearly there is little money, so I really think it is a very interesting model”

From the Chair of the resident led EDC there is agreement with the principle of public private development “even if the logic of it means densities go up” (*PN*). However, others express a degree of concern, stating that “some would question why it does not have any subsidy...which obviously has an implication on density” (*ML*). Here then the cost neutral approach adopted to deliver the scheme might be seen as pushing the scheme to the very margins of viability.

The scheme has had some subsidy, in terms of SRB grant from the LDA to pump prime the development. This is seen by all as critical to delivering the design documents so crucial to the scheme’s development. Gap funding from the Department for Communities and Local Government appears in the interview to be a thorny issue. Some question whether the sums that could be drawn down would actually make any in-roads in the density. For ML, it is probably more appropriate to draw down specific grant for infrastructure or community facilities that will make the higher densities work. In terms of section 106 agreements, from a Hackney Housing perspective any money given through such a mechanism by the developer is simply subtracted off in terms of land value. For the AC this misses an opportunity for an enhanced section.106, like that received at Atwood Green, by reducing the risk for the developer. It should be pointed out that Atwood Green received £46.6 million Estate Renewal Challenge Fund to help the development process (Bailey 2006:95).

6.2.2 Key Policy Themes

6.2.2.1 Future Management Arrangements

Amongst the Woodberry Down stakeholders there is universal agreement that the management will have to be of the highest quality. Moreover, all see single management of the public realm as key. However, there are mixed views on how other areas of management should be taken forward and crucially how it will be funded. There is concern that the developer-led and stand-alone first phase of the development, introduced to “get something built quick” (*PN*), does not encourage the long-term view. For NP, “the RSL has the long-term interest as they will have to manage it and demonstrate affordability to win the stock transfer”. Moreover, a number of interviewees were of the view that if the developer were signed up for the full 15-20 year length of the programme, they may wish to be more involved in future management. For the residents, their advisors and the Housing Association interviewees, having one RSL is critical to equitable management arrangements, providing one point of contact between the social/affordable and the private sector. However, in terms of the spatial masterplan, others argue against this position, “seeing this not as an estate, but as a chunk of city, with multiple partnerships involved in the management of different blocks” (*ML*). For AC, this idea can be taken forward to look for a single neighbourhood management vehicle, with responsible for quality and monitoring a broad range of contractors. His concern is that these conversations have not started because control has not yet been passed to the RSL and developer for the whole site. There is concern from a range of stakeholders that Hackney Housing has kept hold of control for too long in the development phases.

For RS there are real concerns around long term financing, which are not addressed by government policy. Firstly, service charges for public realm maintenance are likely to be high, whilst “social rented tenants are going to find high charges as a result of tenure blind specifications”. Here then “the push for high density will have cost implications both a service charge and rent increase”. While build cost can be cross-subsidised from the private sector, this is not possible in terms of revenue costs. A key

question emerging from this debate then is who should meet the anticipated increase in the cost of living for social renters in tenure blind high density development.

6.2.2.2 Allocations

At Woodberry Down many of the stakeholders agree that allocations are an important issue. DB, of Circle Anglia, suggests that bringing an RSL in through stock transfer will open up more choice in this regard. While the resident interviewee and their independent advisor see it as essential, there is also acceptance that it has knock on implications for other estates, which could become “ghettoised” (*PN*). RS echoes this, suggesting that “thought needs to be given to allocations for regeneration schemes”. In terms of estate renewal schemes that seek to re-house existing residents, the profile of the social renters is already known, rendering a lettings plan irrelevant until a few years into the maturity of the schemes. In terms of manipulating this to forge a more sustainable community, this may or may not be a good thing and is worthy of further consideration. For AC, there is a real danger of being led by the developer and a NIMBYist⁸ attitude from local stakeholders “that may work against the disadvantaged in society”. This is of real concern as, if such plans are necessary to create pockets of sustainable communities, this could be at the expense of the most vulnerable in society. Others see allocation plans as “dangerous” (*ML*) and identify that the best way to work with high density is to ensure good quality public realm and facilities, especially for older children.

6.2.2.3 Housing Mix

All of the interviewees suggested that they thought families were a critical part of a sustainable community. However, all questioned Hackney Planning’s pursuit of set targets for private 3+ bedroom dwellings, which was seen as putting the project in significant amounts of uncertainty. There was unanimous agreement that in terms of the private sale properties it comes down to the economics. However, there is also consensus towards more flexibility and less dogma. As the developer knows it cannot sell this size

⁸ NIMBY – Not In My Back Yard

of unit at this stage in the development, forcing it to build them will affect the viability of the whole scheme. For AC there are too many competing pressures within a regeneration scheme. A developer “will get more for their brick by building one beds” and thus stark choices need to be made around scheme viability. RS points out that the cost of building family homes at high density, or as town houses as part of a larger scheme, means the market price will be more than similar properties in the adjacent area. In terms of stimulating market demand, there is a clear view that supply is only a small proportion of the solution, at least in the Hackney context. The quality of educational provision is cited as the key driver, followed by the standard of the public realm. For many, plans on Woodberry Down for new schools will need to come to fruition and be successful in order to stimulate market demand and make it economically viable for developers (*ML, AC, NP*). In terms of establishing stable communities, retaining kinship networks is seen as beneficial, but very difficult due to the high market values for homes in London and the consequent affordability gap between the social rented, intermediate and the outright sale housing.

6.2.2.4 Design Tensions

Dispersal of tenure across development, or ‘pepper-potting’, appears to have been an emotive issue on Woodberry Down. For ML, finding best practice that was both high density and mixed tenure was difficult. He acknowledges that social integration can be affected through good design, but is concerned that at higher densities, it becomes unviable to provide genuine dispersal of tenure. Fundamentally, this is because “the specification between social and private might be quite different” and management costs and thus service charges will need to be kept down (*ML*). Moreover, consideration needs to be given to perceived marketing issues in terms of the ability to sell the market value properties (*AC*). Woodberry Down will have a version of pepper-potting, whereby each perimeter block will have some social and some private. However, each of the tenures will have separate entrances. For ML this is the best compromise possible in terms of integration verses scheme viability. What is crucial is the public realm, thus “as long as there is a coherent street then it should work”.

In terms of external space, there is concern that the lack of additional space on Woodberry Down makes it difficult to accommodate everything to an adequate standard. For ML, working within the confines of limited space and large numbers of dwellings, what is actually happening is an unintended and unavoidable segregation between tenure. Car-parking, will be split between surface parking for the social tenants and underground for the private sector. As part of a managed scheme, this will be expensive to both sets of residents, but in absolute terms will be significantly more for private resident. The high rise block on the new site will be all private sector, not least because of social tenants preferences against them during consultation. Both parking and high-rise living will create a physical divide between tenures but this appears unavoidable when space is limited in a mixed tenure development. In terms of car parking, RS see a real issue emerging as to whether high density living is actually “squeezing out the car too much” i.e. in a manner that is unsustainable in relation to transport needs.

There is also concern about internal space standards. For both RS and ML this is an example of Woodberry Down leading the way towards best practice, with a commitment that all social housing will be to space standards of Parker Morris⁹ + 10%. For ML, “when one looks at it at the end of the day the larger flats will be in the social sector”. For RS, “this must be the most generous in the country today, but still there are concerns from residents”. From a resident perspective the concern is no longer with the scale and massing of the development, but the internal layout, as “pushing the margins on the outside does not leave you with a blank canvass on the inside” (PN). To this end, from a residents perspective, the current plans, shown by the developer “will represent a down grading on living standards” (PN). For ML, such issues are likely to be resolved through negotiations and that the very tangible commitment to space standards and furthermore, that provision is made for private outdoor space for each dwelling, are real achievements. His concerns are to ensure what has been planned and, crucially, costed is retained through development. He welcomes the fact that the build costs for the masterplan have been included in the developer agreement for the first phase of

⁹ The Parker Morris Committee produced a report ‘Homes for today and tomorrow’ (1961), which looked at the space needs for the modern home, including storage space. It concluded that the total net floor area per person should be 33m² with 17m² for each additional resident. These are known within the industry to be generous space standards (CABE 2006c:9).

development. However, he is concerned that a mechanism to ensure the developer satisfactorily completes the build to this standard before land ownership is granted has not been included.

7 Conclusions and Recommendations

7.1 Conclusions

The Woodberry Down case study is only one example and the findings merely illustrate how a particular development may evolve. Key in this instance, compared to the selected case studies, is the lack of leadership. In the examples of Atwood and New Gorbals there is a clear corporate vision, from which the design documents and viability have developed. At Woodberry Down neither external funding, nor a range of design documents, have engendered a shared vision. Attempting to create a mixed community at such high densities has highlighted division within the council. As land becomes increasingly scarce, like at Woodberry Down, competing priorities emerge. The mixed tenure, high density model in London can be viewed as increasingly trying to achieve more for less. What is apparent is that this model is not a 'holy grail', but rather a series of political trade offs. As at New Gorbals, local and regional elected politicians need to step in to take decisions at early stages, setting the parameters for development. This should allow the process to foster well thought out policies regarding the levels of tenure mix, family housing and allocations.

When compared against the selected case studies, an emerging issue on Woodberry Down is the dynamics of the public-private partnerships that underpin delivery. Without clear public leadership or vision there is a danger that inadequate provision will be put in place to protect the interests of those in social housing. Critical to this is long term management commitment. Whilst much has been made on Woodberry Down of the initial viability of this, allowing the developer to lead the first phase could impact upon long term sustainability. Unlike at Atwood, Hulme and New Gorbals, the RSL, as future manager, has not been significantly involved at the masterplanning stage. However, it is they that have an interest in making sure what is being developed is sustainable in the long run, not least for public realm management and associated service charges. At Imperial Wharf, a developer led scheme, an allocations policy means the most vulnerable are not allowed in and service charges are set at commercial levels. Stronger public

leadership when dealing with existing communities, many of whom are vulnerable, is a clear priority to avoid this in estate renewal schemes.

The analysis of the case studies shows that the public sector needs to speak with one voice, from the earliest possible stage of the planning process. This is entrenched in the new planning system laid out in the Town Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act (2004). This requires local authorities to, at the very least, use planning as a proactive force for achieving corporate goals, as set out in their Community Plans. This does not appear to have happened on Woodberry Down. The findings from all the case studies shows that planning mixed tenure and high density housing is hugely complex. As such, there cannot be a half hearted approach to planning for such communities, with ad hoc development and reactive planning control. Development a New Gorbals demonstrates how this can be done over a wider strategic area. There needs to be clear strategic planning, to spatially understand where high densities, family housing and mixed tenures can sit within a borough. Moreover, the critical lesson from the Ocean Estate, and one that is at the heart of the Woodberry Down proposals, is that this must be grounded in economic viability. Estate renewal must be financially viable and any targets or parameters set by a strategic plan must be demonstrably achievable if they are to form effective public-private partnerships. This is not just over the short-term, but as a scheme develops, so strategies will need to adapt to changing circumstance and not become a barrier to development.

Woodberry Down, by retaining its existing community, is emulating lower density examples such as New Gorbals and Hulme, whilst at higher density Atwood and Ocean's displacement of existing residents is planned. Effective implementation of mixed tenure and high density, at least as evidenced by those case studies already built, has been to attempt either one or the other, not both together. Attempting both may lead to difficulties, especially in terms of child densities, which will be inherited and thus not manageable. Here the literature points to problems of inadequate service provision and tenant management where there are significant amounts of children within high density developments.

Another important issue when densities are raised is the ability to provide genuine integration through design. Examples of good pepper-potting at Atwood and New

Gorbals are achieved at the lower density sections of the respective developments. At Woodberry Down there will be few such areas and, while every effort to ensure the public realm is adequately designed and managed, the demand for space and accommodating different lifestyles within it, pushes costs up. Importantly, these costs are likely to ensure those in social, affordable and private housing use the space in different ways. Woodberry Down therefore indicates that when space is at a premium, costs go up and the policy goal of social integration becomes more difficult; a problem compounded by different space expectations and usage. However, it should be noted that as the policy imperative for high densities in London looks set to continue, at least into the medium term (URS 2006), the direction Woodberry Down is taking in terms of such things as internal space standards, private outdoor space commitments, three new forms of primary school entry, a new city academy, new health centre and new business and adult education centre, represent real examples of looking to accommodate such densities for a wide range of groups within society.

Mixing tenures is a proxy for social engineering. What is not clear from the policy discourse is what a 'balanced community' looks like and whether this is a dynamic and evolving entity, or one that seeks stability. Key to this is the extent to which government is really seeking to improve the status of social renting whilst ensuring support for the most vulnerable, or is simply looking to continue to act as a safety net for the most excluded within society. This is at the crux of creating long term success in these new communities. If it is to be the former, then greater consideration of choice based allocations is required, which would mean providing attractive social rented alternatives to individuals and families, as well as the new high density mixed communities, thus giving them more of a stake in their chosen neighbourhood. It would also require significant investment, well beyond current standards for Decent Homes. If it is the latter 'safety-net', then it is unlikely that this model of estate renewal will work, as allocations policies seek to place the most vulnerable into a highly challenging environment. Mixing tenure at high density can therefore be seen as part of the answer to estate renewal, but should not represent the only model for regeneration of deprived communities.

7.2 Recommendations

Based on the findings of the research and the above conclusions a number of recommendations can be made

- 1) All major mixed tenure higher density estate renewal schemes should employ a Planning Policy Officer within the delivery team. This officer should report to the Head of Planning. This would help to ensure all important decision are taken with the full knowledge and approval of the Planning Authority.
- 2) A lead agency within the public partnership should be identified. This should be a public sector agency with a long term management interest in the development. This is likely to be the RSL.
- 3) Borough wide targets for family homes need to be seen in the light of overall plans to change an area. If market forces are being harnessed to fund this regeneration then they need to be understood and targets need to be flexible in order to adjust to market demand. In many instances real change in an area will be necessary before demand for family homes picks up. Targets could be back loaded to the second half of the development to accommodate this.
- 4) The emerging Local Development Framework needs to ensure that high density and mixed tenure development are both laid out spatially and tested for viability. This should also include provision for 'later phase' family units.
- 5) The research indicates that even with relatively generous space standards for social homes to combat the negative aspects of high density living, there are real concerns. The government should revisit Housing Corporation space standards to consider increasing required space at higher densities. This should ensure that allowances are made for different usage patterns dependent on age, employment status and income.

- 6) Management costs involving minimal tenure differences will impact upon rents and service charges. Consideration needs to be given to a London wide subsidy of these costs. The perceived benefits of creating denser settlement patterns will be shared across the capital, and therefore, the cost for those in social housing with reduced choices should be met by all.
- 7) There is no government fund specifically designed for estate renewal programmes in areas of strong housing market demand. Equal pressure exists to both use the strength of the market to find cost neutral solutions and to increase the capital's housing stock funds, creating a virtuous circle. Where funds are needed however, is for the facilities and infrastructure to accommodate high densities and to stimulate market demand. A funding stream designed for this purpose should be developed to fill in the qualitative gaps left by current density measurements.
- 8) The masterplan will need to be a flexible document as many large scale schemes will take 15-20 years to complete. The GLA should set up a design panel for each borough, consisting of relevant local and regional stakeholders. Their function should be to consider refinements to masterplans and other strategic plans to ensure flexibility, but also adherence to original objectives.

High density and mixed tenure housing looks set to become an increasing policy and delivery option. Both the development process and the communities created are hugely complex. Limited space means that boundaries between viability, protecting the most vulnerable and promoting integration are constantly being pushed. Undesirable outcomes of this policy are a lack of initial financial viability and longer term management sustainability, lack of commercial viability, social polarisation and ultimately, failing to regenerate and thus failing the most vulnerable. The above analysis indicates that these can be the key barriers, which will need to be overcome to facilitate successful estate renewal. Both the development process and emerging long-term policies are critical to this, but as land becomes increasingly scarce and more is expected in terms of housing

and facilities, it will become difficult to balance the many competing priorities. This is likely to lead to a reliance on political trade offs, in order to identify the best possible outcome in increasingly challenging circumstances.

Appendix 1 – Woodberry Down Development History

The process at Woodberry Down illustrates that the scheme is borne out of a pragmatic approach from the Local Authority, yet entrenched in national government policy. In July 2000 the London Borough of Hackney (LBH) made a successful bid for Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) funding. At the heart of this bid were plans to redevelop the Woodberry Down Estate, through a scheme of partial demolition and refurbishment, along with a £14 million grant to ‘pump prime’ development (LBH 2000). Further work to assess the stock condition (Waterman HDC 2002) found that 31 blocks were beyond economic repair, with an additional 11 to be considered for demolition, due to the likely costs of repair under the government’s Decent Homes standard. This led to an economic options appraisal, which demonstrated that total demolition and rebuild was the most cost efficient option and that 4,300 homes were required to build 50% private, 35% social and 15% intermediate homes as a self financing regeneration scheme (HACAS Chapman Hendy 2004). Additional projects to deliver a new health centre, funded through sale of residential units, and the long term goal of purchasing additional private properties within the boundaries of the estate have pushed the overall scheme to 5,051 (LBH 2006b:20).

LBH Housing Department, which owns the majority of land at Woodberry Down has been the lead agency in bringing the scheme forward, which should ultimately lead to a stock transfer to a Registered Social Landlord (RSL). There is a commitment to ensure all existing tenants are re-housed on the redeveloped estate. However, the scheme has had a complicated and chequered history, with delays leading to a suspension of SRB grant for two years, while the SRB Partnership Board and the LDA sought an improvement in the delivery arrangements of the scheme (Renaissi 2005:15). An Area Action Plan (AAP), commissioned by Hackney’s Planning department was completed in 2004 (LBH 2004) and was adopted as Supplementary Planning Guidance. This was followed by an Urban Design Framework (UDF), which began to articulate the vision for Woodberry Down in terms of the numbers needed for cross subsidy discussed above (LBH 2005a). As a requirement of SRB funding and outline planning permission, a full masterplan was subsequently commissioned by Hackney Housing, funded in part through SRB grant.

Due to the many delays that have beset the scheme, political pressure has led to the first phase being brought forward prior to stock transfer to provide the momentum to ‘kick start’ the scheme (LBH 2005b).

Appendix 2 – List of the Case Studies and Research Literature

A number of key documents in the field of mixed tenure and high density research utilise case studies to better understand the processes and outcomes relating to these areas. The case studies used in this dissertation have been selected from a much wider pool. These are all set out below. For a case study to be included it must meet four of the criteria (based on the profile of the Woodberry Down development). The key research texts are

- Bailey, N. et al (2006) 'Creating and Sustaining Mixed Income Communities: A Good Practice Guide' London, Chartered Institute of Housing
- Cope, H. (2002), 'Capital Gains: Making High Density Housing Work in London', Trafford Press
- PRP Architects (2002) 'High Density Housing in Europe: Lessons for London', London, PRP.
- Silverman, E et al (2006), 'A Good Place for Children? Attracting and Retaining Families in Inner Urban Mixed Income Communities', London, Chartered Institute of Housing.
- Allen, C. et al (2005), 'Mixed Tenure, Twenty Years On – Nothing Out of the Ordinary', London, Chartered Institute of Housing

	Atwood	Hulme	New Gorbals	GMV	Imperial Wharf	Ocean Estate, Tower Hamlets	Abbs Cross LB Havering	Old Royal Free Square LB Islington	Victoria Street LB Newham
Source	CABE Bailey	Bailey Silverman	Bailey Silverman	Silverman CABE	Cope	Bailey	Cope	Cope	Cope
Estate renewal programme	Yes	Yes	Yes			Yes			
Mixed tenure development	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes			
High density development	Yes			Yes	Yes				Yes
Re-housing all existing community		Yes	Yes						
Set within London housing market				Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Urban Setting	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes

Bold denotes case studies used for this dissertation

	Liverpool Road Estate	The Whitbread Estate	Colville Square	Baltimore Court, Vauxhall Bridge Rd	11-14 Kirby Street	Victoriagrade Denmark	Rue de Meaux, France	Sankt Eriks, Sweden	Starbacksangen Sweden
Report Author	Cope	Cope	Cope	Cope	Cope	PRP	PRP	PRP	PRP
Estate renewal programme									
Mixed tenure development		Yes						Yes	Yes
High density development	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		
Re-housing all existing community									
New build set within strong housing market				Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Urban Setting	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

	Scampi en Rose, Netherlands	Gulden Kruis, Netherlands	Britannia	Catheram Village, Surrey	Kings Hall, West Malling	Grahame Park	Royal Quays, North Shields	Upton, Northampton	Bowthorpe, Norwich
From	PRP	PRP	Silverman	Bailey	Bailey	Bailey	Bailey	Bailey	Allen
Estate renewal programme						Yes			
Mixed tenure development	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
High density development				Yes					
Re-housing all existing community						Yes			
New build set within strong housing market	Yes	Yes	Yes			Yes			
Urban Setting	Yes	Yes	Yes						

Appendix 3 – Details of Analysed Case Studies

Case Study	Woodberry Down, Hackney
Location	Urban
Number of Homes to be Redeveloped	5,071
Proposed/Actual Housing Mix	53% Private, 15% Intermediate, 32% Social Rented
Proposed/Actual Dwellings Per Hectare	210 dph

Case Study	Atwood Green, Birmingham
Location	Urban
Number of Homes to be Redeveloped	2,106
Proposed/Actual Housing Mix	78% Private, 11% Intermediate, 11% Social
Proposed/Actual Dwellings Per Hectare	155 dph (actual after three phases) likely to rise over next four phases

Case Study	Hulme, Manchester
Location	Urban
Number of Homes to be Redeveloped	1,500
Proposed/Actual Housing Mix	45% Private, 55% Social Rented
Proposed/Actual Dwellings Per Hectare	35 dph

Case Study	New Gorbals, Glasgow
Location	Urban
Number of Homes to be Redeveloped	1,400
Proposed/Actual Housing Mix	75% Private, 25% Social Rented
Proposed/Actual Dwellings Per Hectare	88 dph

Case Study	Greenwich Millennium Village
Location	Urban
Number of Homes to be Redeveloped	2,956 on completion
Proposed/Actual Housing Mix	80% Private, 20% Affordable (does not specify between social and intermediate). Currently 88% Private, 4% Intermediate, 8% Social Rented
Proposed/Actual Dwellings Per Hectare	134 dph

Case Study	Imperial Wharf, Wandsworth
Location	Urban
Number of Homes to be Redeveloped	1,615
Proposed/Actual Housing Mix	50% Private, 18% Intermediate, 32.% Social Rented
Proposed/Actual Dwellings Per Hectare	Not available but identified as high by the researcher

Case Study	Ocean Estate, Tower Hamlets
Location	Urban
Number of Homes to be Redeveloped	1,257 plus 659 refurbished
Proposed/Actual Housing Mix	37% Private, 8% Intermediate, 55% Social Rented
Proposed/Actual Dwellings Per Hectare	Not available

Atwood Green is the re-branded name for five run down estates close to Birmingham city centre. Its residents have voted for stock transfer to an RSL and it seeks to bring in significant mix of uses and tenure to an area previously dominated by social housing.

Hulme, in Manchester, and New Gorbals, in Glasgow, are both 1960s and 70's estate associated with slum clearance attempts of the time. Knocked down in the early 1990s they are a stark reminder of the failures of large swaths of post-war mono-tenure social housing. Both developments sought to accommodate their existing communities, whereas at Atwood Green this is not an explicit aim.

Greenwich Millennium Village (GMV) represents a large scale brownfield and as such, new neighbourhood, development. While built to higher densities than either Hulme, or New Gorbals, it is also interesting due to its position within the inner London housing market.

Imperial Wharf, in Wandsworth, is also built on brownfield land, alongside the River Thames, and seeks to deliver mixed tenure and high density. Importantly, this development is developer led, whereas all the other studies have been brought forward with significant public sector leadership. This is helpful as it provides an alternative perspective from which to understand the dynamics of delivering housing development.

The Ocean Estate has been included as a literature case study example, which has yet to be developed. This should provide useful indications of pitfalls in delivering such schemes.

Appendix 4 – Details of Institutional Stakeholders Relationships

Community consultation has been led by the Estate Development Committee, an elected resident organisation, supported by First Call as the Independent Tenants and Leaseholder Advisors. Such consultation is now built into the planning process and furthermore is a requirement of the £14million Single Regeneration Budget grant, for which the LDA is ultimately responsible. Hackney Housing, which draws down the SRB grant have commissioned Matrix Partnerships to produce the emerging masterplan, which will act as the basis for an outline planning application to be submitted to Hackney Planning. Furthermore, Hackney Housing procured Berkeley Homes to deliver the first phase of the redevelopment prior to stock transfer. This first phase is developer led, but a requirement was made to partner with a housing association (Circle Anglia) to manage the intermediate stock. Berkeley Homes is responsible for submitting the detailed planning applications for this phase of the development, although these detail applications will be informed by outline planning application. Hackney Planning has deliberately been placed at the end of the process. This is to illustrate the nature of their involvement in the process, which evolved into solely a development control function and not in the development process.

Appendix 5 - Semi-Structured Interview Questionnaire

Design documents

1. How significant have the design documents; the Area Action Plan, Urban Design Framework and the emerging Masterplan, been in leading to a more satisfactory mixed tenure, high density development on Woodberry Down?
2. Do you feel they could have achieved more and have there been any constraining factors?
3. How best can they now be taken forward?

Leadership

4. Do you believe strong leadership is critical in ensuring the process from planning to development is successful, or is a consensual approach more important?
5. Do you feel there is a shared vision and rationale for the development across stakeholders?
6. How do you feel the partnership between stakeholders has developed and what have been the tensions? Is there an emerging lead stakeholder?

Financing

7. Do you feel the scheme is financially innovative, or is this type of financing increasingly becoming the norm?
8. Do current government funding structures help facilitate high quality mixed tenure, high density development?
9. How critical has, or will, the following funding regimes be in influencing the design and quality of the overall scheme and will they have a positive or negative effect?
 - a) Single Regeneration Budget funding
 - b) Core LBH funding
 - c) Section 106
 - d) ODPM gap funding
 - e) Social Housing Grant

Management

10. Do you feel a single management vehicle is important in such a development? If so, how achievable is it and what needs to be done to work towards such goals?

Allocation and Housing mix

11. How important to you feel allocation policies and letting plans are in complementing well designed and thought out communities? What do you see as the main tensions in achieving such a policy on Woodberry Down?
12. What have been the tensions in ensuring an adequate housing mix in terms of dwelling types and sizes?

Design and Social Integration

13. What have been the key tensions in achieving well thought out design solutions for areas such as:
 - a) Car parking?
 - b) Security?
 - c) Privacy?
 - d) Internal and external circulation areas?
 - e) Public and private space?
14. Is pepper potting an achievable goal within such a large scale development? What tensions have there been, or are likely to arise, in delivering integrated tenure mix at high density?

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